1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 777
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvasnudr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvasnudr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this 755
kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or 756
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incantations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Sinpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkòren* may be spoken of as an *uipol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *uipol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

pathanmul.[1] The thorn and some of the salt are then put into the fire, and the *utpol* utters the following incantation :—

Pithioten Ön idith, Teikirsim Tirshtim idith, tan âv kan pudrs kan
his mother eye perish eye

pudri âmâ; tan in kan pudrs kan pudri âmâ;
be destroyed may; father

and this formula is repeated, substituting for *av* or *in* the names of the following relatives :—*an, akkan, nòdrved, mun, mimi, pian, piav*.[2] Then follows the same formula repeated, in which the names of various tribes are substituted for those of the relatives, as "*mav kan pudrs kan pudri uma*"—Badaga eye perish, may his eye be destroyed." The people mentioned are *mav* (Badaga), *pedr* (Tamil), *suti* (? chetties), *kurub* (Kurumbas), *erl* (Irulas), *panin* (Panyas).[3] The last clause is *möditi kan pudrs kan pudri uma*, extending the imprecation to the women of all the people already mentioned. When the incantation is finished, the remainder of the salt is eaten by the sick man.

The Toda *utkòren* may practise 'absent treatment.' If a man wishes to treat a sufferer from the evil eye, and is unable to visit his patient, he puts the salt on the ground and strokes it with the thorn of *pathanmul*, repeating the above incantation as he strokes. He then sends the salt to the sick man, by whom it is eaten.

The treatment in any case is repeated till it has been done three times.

If it is a buffalo which is suffering from the evil effects of *kanarvasnudr*, the *utkòren* use the same method, and the salt is eaten by the buffalo.

In the special case in which the evil is produced by saying that a man is looking well or is well dressed, the *utkòren* have a different method. They take a piece of the root called *kabudri*,[4] and a plant called *kwagal*, and squeeze the juice of both into a vessel.

[1] The leaves of this plant, *Solanum indicum*, are used in the ordination of the *kwvalikartmokh*.

[2] For the meaning of these kinship-terms, see Chap. XXI.

[3] It is noteworthy that the Kotas are not included.

[4] This is the plant, *Euphorbia Rothiana*, used at the purification of the *ti* dairy (p. 136).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

both into a vessel. An incantation is said, the same as, or similar to, that already given, while the *utkòren* strokes the sick man with the corner of his cloak. After the incantation the sufferer drinks the juice.

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Various Magical Remedies

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The *utkòren* also practise various other methods of treatment.

Headache. This is called *madersnüdr*, "if head aches." For this the *utpol* places his hand on the head of the sufferer, and says the following incantation in a low voice, so that the patient may not distinguish what is being said.[1] After the names of the four gods, as in previous formulæ, it runs:—

ndkkerew	*mad*	*tathi kan*	*tath mâ ;*	*ker*	*mad tathi*	
cobra	head	broken into pieces	not break may ;	a snake	&c.	

kan tath mâ ;

and the same formula is repeated, substituting first the names of other kinds of snake and then of other animals. The following are the animals mentioned: *kürüpatz*, a black poisonous snake; *putpob*, a variegated snake, which is called the foolish snake, because it will not get out of the way; *tavarkni*, a green snake; *pülipob*, another green snake; *uitch*, a kind of lizard reputed to suck blood; *antli*, a squirrel; *kapan*, a frog; *tughüli*, a crayfish (?); *kadrmad*, a water animal of some kind; *mtu*, a fish; *tgal*, an earthworm; *nelnpüf*, an insect found under stones; *dpipüf*, an insect found in buffalo dung. After all these animals have been mentioned with the same formula, the names of Pithioteu and Ön are again uttered, followed by the words *tathkkma*. The *utpol* flicks the corner of his cloak first against the ground, and then against the forehead of the sufferer, and then, if the man is sitting, he says, "*ateuk ir*," "sit there off!" and the man moves a little way from the place where he had been sitting. If the man is unable to sit, and is lying down, the words will be "*ateuk padr*," "lie there off!" or "lie a little way off!"

[1] I think it is probable that all the incantations are said in this manner, but I only had it specifically mentioned in this case.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

755 825 I could not obtain a satisfactory account of the exact meaning of the incantation; it was said to mean "may the snake's head be broken in pieces, and so may your head be broken"—*i.e.*, so may the pain go; another rendering was "may the pain go to the snake's head," the latter being by far the more probable meaning. Three divisions of the incantation are recognised: in the first, snakes only are mentioned; in the second, things which live in the water; and in the third, things which live in the earth. The treatment is repeated on one or two days, if necessary, but it is never done more than three times, "because the ailment is always cured in that time."

755 924 Another condition treated by the *utkòren* is stomach-ache, which is called *pïïfkwatnûdr*, "if worms bite." The *utpol* places his hand on the belly of the sufferer, and after reciting the names of the four gods, he continues:—

kêrs	*pûv*	*kâdkanm*	*kâl*	*nâ*;
kêrs tree	flower	fallen as fall	down	may;

and this formula is repeated, substituting the names of various trees and other plants for the name of the *kêrs* tree. The trees and plants mentioned are *pirzkh* and *kûrêrs*, trees having edible fruit; *pül*, *ktl*, *kwadriki*, *kid*, trees from which bees get honey; *kab*, sugarcane; *teg*, coco-nut; *patm*, samai; *ners*, rice; *ert*, ragi; *ktij*, potato; *perigi*, chillies; *melkh*, pepper; *kwatimeli*, Coriandum sativum; *kadrkh*, mustard; and *ktri* or *ktrsi*, red amaranth.

Thus the last clause would run: *ktri pûv kâdkanm kâl nâ*, and this would be followed by the names of Pithioteu and Ön. Then the *utpol* flicks his cloak three times, first against the ground and then against the belly of the sufferer, and says, "*ateuk ir*," or "*ateuk padr*," according as the man is sitting or lying down, and the sufferer moves a little from his place.

The names of flowers are used because the Todas believe that worms come from eating honey, and the honey has come from flowers. The flowers mentioned belong to four groups;[1] (i) those of trees which bear edible fruits; (ii) those from which bees get honey; (iii) those of trees or plants part of

[1] This distinction was pointed out to me by my informant.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

which are eaten; (iv) those of trees which give pungent substances like chillies and pepper.

There were various other complaints for which the *utkòren* are consulted, such as:—*elptûksnûdr*, depression in the chest of a child when it breathes (*elp* or *elv* = bone); *tekkpkûdathvûdnûdr*, pain in the side; *kankpudithnûdr*, if anything gets into the eye; *erutûthtimûdr*, if cut or wounded in any way; *pobersnûdr*, if snake bites.

Each of these has its appropriate treatment, but the only method of which I obtained an account was the last. Certain men have a special reputation for the treatment of snake-bite. A cord is made of woman's hair and this is bound tightly round the bitten limb in three places. The doctor takes a piece of *pathanmul* and strikes the bitten limb while he utters the appropriate incantation.[1] The ligature is kept on the limb for two or three days and the incantation is repeated three times a day during that period. Anyone whom a snake has bitten must not cross a stream. If it is absolutely necessary that he should cross, he must be carried over it.

If wild animals attack the buffaloes, a procedure which closely resembles those already described is carried out by the *utkòren*. The procedure is called *kûdrkatinamûdr*—*i.e.*, "wild beast tie mouth if." It is also carried out if a buffalo is lost, and in this case the charm will keep the animal from injury by wild beasts. The *utpol* takes three stones secretly and goes at night to the front either of the dairy or hut and utters the following incantation:—

Pittûtsu Ön idîth, Teitirsim Tirshtim idîth; pef pirsi hût ters nil
big tiger teeth fastened stand

mû; kûkk hermam mûku tirs nil mû; pasir kanai amûn ters
may; black bear face crowd red dog other side

nil mû; pok tsuv ters nil mû; pef per ters nil mû; pef po
snake erect head big hill big river

pû ters nil mû; pef phli mul[2] ters nil mû.
stream big porcupine quills

[1] I did not obtain this formula.

[2] *Mul*, which means bramble and thorn, is here used for the porcupine's quills.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by

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ðth *tvòdin* *kati* *vaiumd.*
these all before tie keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 789 All the remedies so far described resemble one another in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren*. The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *terg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. It was said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrsi and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

302 754 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows.

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing.

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind.

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used.

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism.

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi—i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo.

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this

[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*ā teu sati udāsnūdr, an nòdr nòdr udāsnūdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnūdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct.

The nature of the words used makes it clear that the remedies employed by the Toda *utkòren*, or medicine-men, are of a magical kind. The words are essentially the same as those used by the *pilikòren*, or sorcerers, to remove the evils they have brought about by their previous magical incantations. The same formulæ are used to remove ills supposed to be due to natural causes as are used to remove those due to the workings of magic. It seems clear that the Todas have advanced beyond the stage of human culture in which all misfortunes are produced by magic. They recognise that some ills are not due to human intervention, but yet they employ the same kind of means to remove these ills as are employed to remove those brought about by human agency. The advance of the Todas is shown most clearly by the differentiation of function between *pilikòren* and *utkòren*, between sorcerers and medicine-men, and we seem to have here a clear indication of the differentiation between magic and medicine. The two callings are followed by different men, who are entirely distinct from one another, but both use the same kind of formula to bring about the effect they desire to produce. It seems that the powers of the *utkòren* are less definitely passed on from father to son than in the case of the *pilikòren*. There is no doubt that these powers depend largely on a knowledge of the words to be used, and especially on a knowledge of the names of the four gods, but it

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

bell, and there is no doubt that it is a number regarded as especially sacred. Whenever the sacred syllable *Oṁ* is used, it is nearly always uttered thrice, and there seems to be a special association between the number three and this word.

In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony three branches of *tudr* leaves are used, and they and the log with which the calf is killed are passed round the body of the animal thrice. Later in the ceremony three pieces of wood are thrown over the fire.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth, the woman drinks thrice on various occasions, in the *purstütpimi* ceremony the name of the bow is asked and the answer given three times, and in the ceremony of name-giving three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the child and three into his hair.

At the funeral ceremonies, earth is thrown three times on the corpse and three times into the pen, the body is swung on the fire three times, and at the final scene of the *asaramkedr* the man who rings the bell goes round the burial place of the ashes thrice. Three *ovibnikârs* are thrown by the man who crosses the pathway of the dead. The number three is not limited to the dairy ritual, but is of frequent occurrence in the whole of Toda ceremonial.

The number three also appears in connexion with magical or semi-magical practices. The various methods of treatment used by the *utkòren* are carried out three times and never more frequently than this, and the sufferer who drinks hot water to allay the effects of fright also does this thrice. A remedy is probably held to be more potent if repeated the same number of times as in the case of so many sacred acts.

Five.—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial except in certain ceremonies at the Nòdrs *ti* which are repeated five times because there are five groups of buffaloes belonging to this dairy. The number in this case has, however, no ceremonial significance, and is merely a consequence of the fact that one *palol* at this *ti* has three groups and the other two groups of buffaloes. The only other occurrence of the number is at the Kars *ti*, where the ancient lamp probably had five cavities, but even this is doubtful.

The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The

1: Rivers E-S (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgamol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjánkudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mlkuti* (*? meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mlkuti*.

SKIN-MARKS

304 751 755 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered 304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

304 man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had [752] to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pûturers*, is used to hasten the healing.

[755] Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *suvarkadi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

304 631 Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.[1]

304 521 I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

304 463 465 The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might undertake the business. The following are at present recognised as experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *athôrs*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

304 The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

[1] Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

553 of the boy was changed to Meilitars (44). A boy of Pām was called Kudeners, but it was found that there was another Kudeners at Taradr (25), so the name of the former was changed to Arparners, often shortened to Arpar (38).

When Kainir (3) married, his wife's name was Kanir, but she changed it since it was so like that of her husband. It was said to have been changed to Singub, but she was always known as Udz at the time of my visit.

Change of name of this kind is not obligatory, and there are several cases in which two people now living have the same name. When a change is made because two people have the same name or similar names, it is the younger of the two who changes. In most of the cases in which two people bear the same name it will be found that one belongs to the Tartharol and the other to the Teivaliol, and I am doubtful whether in this case names are changed except as the result of death.

553 A third reason for changing names is illness or other mis-
● 755 fortune. When a man is ill, change of name is sometimes recommended by a diviner, but this is not often done. One of my guides, Kutadri (7), had changed his name twice. His original name had been Okeithi or Okvan, but as there was another Okvan of Keadr (68), he became Tagarsvan. Later he fell ill, and, on the recommendation of a diviner, Tagarsvan changed his name to Kutadri, and I never heard him spoken of or addressed by any but this name during my visit.

Taboos on Names

551 The only definite restrictions on the utterance of the names of living people are those connected with kinship which have already been considered in Chapter XXI. A man may not utter the names of his mother's brother, his grandfather and grandmother, his wife's mother, and of the man from whom he has received his wife, who is usually the wife's father. The names of the above are tabooed in life, while after death the restrictions are still wider, and it is forbidden to utter the name of any dead elder relative, while the names of the dead are in any case only said reluctantly.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by
the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are
made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age
he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month
of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself,
or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag
rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the
carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.
142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and
the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a
café-au-lait tint. The skin of the female children and
young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in
glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly
good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into
uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous
women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the
fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[939] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery
worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after
our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had
accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose